1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

systematic excavation of the great series of royal tombs a vast store of archaeological data will be forthcoming. This splendid series, the sequence of which is known in part, constitutes no doubt the most important archaeological field in Polynesia.

For the location of places mentioned in this paper refer to Tongan Place Names (25).[A]

POPULATION

CENSUS DATA

The census for the year 1921 taken by the Tongan police in the month of April, lists 23,759 Tongans, 571 Caucasians, 235 half-castes, 235 individuals from other Pacific islands, and 135 miscellaneous non-Caucasian foreigners.

Intermarriage of Caucasians and full-blooded Tongans is less frequent to-day than formerly, although at no time was such intermarriage common. To all appearances the Tongan population bids fair to maintain itself in strength of numbers and purity of blood indefinitely. This situation seems insured by the fact that ownership of land by foreigners is effectually prohibited by law.

It is the opinion of the late Reverend J. B. Watkin, formerly President of the Free Church of Tonga, and a man who could speak with authority because of his long residence in Tonga, that the population of the three main island groups of Tonga—Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau—has never exceeded 25,000; an opinion with which I have reason to concur.

The estimate of the Wesleyan missionaries in 1840, cited by Commodore Wilkes (63, vol. 3, p. 29) allows only 18,500 for the population of the whole archipelago, including the outlying Niuatoputapu and Niuafoou islands. It is possible that this is an underestimate, though it must be remembered that the country was still suffering from the internecine wars which began about the end of the eighteenth century. In Table 1, Wilkes' figures for 1840 are given with those for other years up to 1921. For 1922 no detailed figures have been obtained, but according to Stronge (52, pp. 6-7) the excess of births over deaths for that year was 359, which would make the total Tongan population more than 24,000.

ANCIENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Tradition speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end of Tongatabu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a state of affairs described as *fanongonongo tokoto* (making proclamation when reclining). Some writers have inferred from this tradition that the population must have been much denser than that of to-day. The area of

[A] /See 4: Gifford for this source -- Analyst/

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

administered by superior chiefs anciently, and now, by the established Government. It was no doubt the system by which labor was requisitioned for the construction of the great royal tombs, the pigeon mounds, the great trilithon, and other works for royal or public purposes. The account of Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, is a good example of the working of the system. (See p. 69.) A rebellion against the oppressiveness of this system in early times is cited by Thomson (54, pp. 294, 300). Wilson mentions the *fatongia* (*fadangyeer*) or tax on labor and states that inferior chiefs sent men two or three times a week to labor for the Tui Kanokupolu ("Dugonagaboola"). He also says (65, p. 384, liii):

> In improvements and civil government the people of the Friendly Islands appear superior . . . their lands better cultivated, their roads neatly maintained, and their country generally enclosed with reed fences; property also appears more protected, and no arbitrary exactions noticed; . . .

In 1797, according to Wilson, there were three main districts in Tongatabu, each governed by an absolute ruler; the northwestern, Hihifo (Aheefo) district, ruled by the Tui Kanokupolu; the middle, Mua district, ruled by Fatafehi (Futtafaihe) probably the Tui Pelehake; and the southeastern, Hahake (Ahoge) district, ruled by Vaharlo. Subdivisions of these districts were ruled by inferior chiefs. Perhaps in some measure the boundaries of these three districts coincided with the three modern districts (*vahe*) of Hihifo, Loto (middle), and Hahake. To what extent these districts were administrative rather than purely geographic is not clear.

The following account of the origin of the name Pukotala gives a picture of the method of transmitting orders from a chief to his tenants:

> On the island of Haano there are four villages. Starting from the northwestern end of the island, they are Muitoa, Haano or Lotohaano, Pukotala, and Fakakakai. The lord of the island, known as Tui Haa Ngana, holds sway over the first three, but Fakakakai never had a chief and as its name indicates is made up of people from different parts that have settled there. In the olden days when the chief desired to give notice to the people of some new arrangement, he summoned his attendants and matapule to Haano and told them what he wanted accomplished. A runner was dispatched to Pukotala to acquaint the folk there of Tui Haa Ngana's intentions. On the outskirts of the village was a big *puko* tree ("cottonwood") and up this the runner used to climb and yell out at the top of his voice his chief's wishes. It was from this circumstance that the place derived its name: *puko*, cottonwood tree; *tala*, to tell.

The early voyagers mention portable houses set up at convenient places near anchorages for the reception of visitors. At the abodes of great chiefs were special houses, open on all sides where meetings were held, public affairs transacted, and foreigners received in state. Tasman pictures such a house, which he describes as a raised and roofed platform (30). This is probably the type of structure designated by the Tongans of today as *falehau*.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

served the fourth: when the cava was presented to him, he neither took it nor raised up his head, but speaking to somebody who sat a little behind him, that person stretched his arms forward, and, receiving it for him, took it away, reserving it for Toobó Malohi, to drink after the cava party should be dissolved. The company, having finished their cava, dispersed, and Toobó Malohi retired to take his.

This chief and his followers remained at Vavaoo about a fortnight before they sailed to the Hapai islands; during which time he entertained Finow with an account of different transactions at Tonga, relating what conspiracies had been devised, what battles had been fought, what brave chiefs and warriors had fallen. Every time he mentioned the death of a hero, Finow struck his breast with his fist, exclaiming, "What a warrior has fallen in a "useless war!" or something to that purpose.

Before Toobó Malohi and his chiefs took their departure, Finow repeated his orders to Toobó Toa to keep a watchful eye upon them, and to give him the earliest information, if he discovered any symptoms of conspiracy, for he said he expected something of the kind, as they were all choice warriors, and had been well experienced at the Fiji islands.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

der. That they had consequently come to a resolution of saving his life, seeing that his death would be a greater evil to his people than to himself, and of punishing him in another and perhaps more severe way, viz. by the death of his most dear and beloved daughter, who must therefore be inevitably taken from him: for as it had been decreed, beyond all revocation, that either he or his daughter must die, her life could not be saved without taking away his. As a sort of proof of this decree, he bade them remark that whilst Finow was at this time ill, his daughter was much better, and comparatively full of life and spirits, (which was actually the case.) To-morrow, he said, her father would be tolerably well, for the gods had not decreed his immediate death, but only a temporary illness, to impress on his mind a sense of their power, and then his daughter would relapse, and become as bad or worse than ever.

The priest being now silent, the chiefs and matabooles left him, with a strong belief of the truths he had been telling them. When they arrived at Finow's house they found him somewhat better, but did not communicate what they had heard from his priest. This however was soon rumoured among the other chiefs and matabooles, in the king's *cook-house*, where

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

they generally resort for cava, and which from custom has become a sort of rendezvous to pick up or retail news. Mr. Mariner, who had been with Finow (his patron, father, and protector,) during his illness, coming to the *cook-house* and hearing what the priest had said, went out of curiosity to Finow's daughter, and was surprised to find her sitting up, eating ripe bananas, and in very good spirits, talking at intervals to her female attendants.

In the evening Finow, feeling himself for the most part recovered, visited his daughter, and found her much worse than, as he was informed, she had been in the morning. He now expressed his intention of passing the night at her house, which he accordingly did. When he awoke in the morning he felt himself perfectly recovered; but going to his daughter's mat, he found, to his utmost grief, that she was worse than ever. In the course of the morning he went down to the sea-shore, to give some orders respecting an alteration he designed in the sail of his canoe, in which he also employed himself (to distract his thoughts probably) the greater part of the day. At night he again slept at the house of his daughter; and very early the following morning gave orders for all his chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, to go on board his canoes, and gave directions for his

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

as far as Mr. Mariner has seen and heard, has never been the case; and it seems strange that the favour of divine inspiration should be particularly bestowed upon men seldom higher in rank than matabooles: such, however, is the case, and, to reconcile it with propriety, we may suppose that Tooitonga and Veachi are supposed to be of too high a rank to be the mere servants of the gods, and mere instruments of communication between them and mankind, but rather as the highest and most worthy of mankind, and next to the gods in rank and dignity. These two persons, however high in rank, have very little comparative power, though it is suspected that, formerly, when the Tonga people were a peaceable nation, and more attention was paid to religious rites and institutions, that they had a vast deal more influence than they have had of late years. They now very seldom meddle with political matters, though Mr. Mariner once witnessed an instance where Tooitonga ventured to advise Finow (the late king) respecting his warlike proceedings against Vavaoo, at the time when his aunt, Toe Oomoo, revolted; for this purpose he went into the house on a *malái*, and sent a messenger to the king to say that he was there; which is a polite mode of telling a person you want him to come, that you may speak to him. He did not go to the king's house in

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 181 **269. Matangi lelei to ki la mahaehae:** Good wind falling in torn sail.

This indicates good opportunities put into the hands of those incapable of turning them to advantage.

539 203 **270. Ongo fakaevaha:** News like that from the open sea; more literally from "between."

The stretch of sea separating one island from another is commonly spoken as "the between." One might employ the same mode of speech for being out at sea.

News from the open sea is the unreliable reports that travellers bring: yarns concocted while out at sea at a distance from good sources of information. It may be applied generally to stories that are not sufficiently founded on fact.

539 461 **271. Ohooho a liu lahi:** A large hold (of a boat) unfilled.

A large vessel of great carrying capacity may be unfilled and yet contain a very large cargo, while a small boat will be filled to overflowing by a much smaller load. Small people, and small receptacles, may appear to be carrying very large loads but in reality their burdens are much less than those easily borne by persons and vessels of greater capacity.

539 502 **272. Pata i la tuu** or **Pata i la kuo tuu:** Rejoicing in sail that is standing.

Used of a high degree of satisfaction, such as that which the sailor feels when the breeze is fair, the sail well filled, and the boat making good way.

273. Peau tupu-koso: Wave rising (at the) *koso.*

[501] The *koso* is an ornamental carving at the bow and at the stern of the canoe. The expression refers to a wave that rises right under the bow or stern of the boat and gives the steersman very little time or opportunity to ride it properly. Hence of danger or calamity which comes suddenly upon one giving him but little time either to avoid it or take measures to meet it.

274. Pelu la kei mamao: Reef sail still at a distance, that is, while the storm is still at a distance.

[181] To have everything snug and prepared in ample time to meet a threatened danger.

539 501 **275. Pili e tauhala:** Near the rope, or the rope is near.

The *tauhala* is a rope that was trailed astern in rough weather to afford succor to anyone who happened to be washed overboard. This expression is said to indicate primarily one who has been washed overboard and has nearly missed the saving rope; has nearly let it pass him before he

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

undemocratic understanding that however brave he may show himself he is nevertheless but a commoner. There is a couplet which runs as follows:

Tangi a tua ke tau ke toa,
Kae toatoa toe tua pe.

Which, somewhat freely translated runs:

A commoner wanting to be a great warrior,
But with all his courage remaining but a commoner.

520. Lolinga a motu: Habit of islet.

The word *motu*, translated islet, refers to the smaller islands scattered about the Tongan group. Although the largest island is only about twenty-five miles long the word *motu* is not used of it nor in general of the other more important centers of population. Different sections of Tongan population do not show the variation in manner and outlook that separates extreme rusticity from extreme "towniness" in white men's countries, but the manner in which the out-of-the-way islander does things excites something of the same half-contemptuous tolerance in the man accustomed to places where the elite of Tongan society are centered, as the country man does in the city man. All such comparisons as these, however, are vastly in favor of the Tongan over the European. In all places courteous good-breeding is the rule, and the foreigner's ignorant blunders are passed over with bland indifference.

521. Ngu a tua: Muttering of commoner.

A commoner may be vexed at something and complain but his anger is little regarded because of his social inferiority and consequent powerlessness. Another possible rendering is, "power or might of a commoner," but the application would be much the same as above. (See No. 522.)

522. Ngungulu a feiumu: Grumbling of cook.

Very similar to No. 521. A no account man like a cook may do a lot of grumbling but all the same he has to do what he is told and get about his job whether he likes it or not.

523. Ngutu tamulea: Officious mouth.

Used of a commoner officiously expressing his opinion in the affairs of chiefs, or generally of one putting in his say where it is not wanted.

524. Tala be i tua mamao: Report far outside; that is, the reports and conjectures of those who are far from the center of things where only the truth is to be discovered.

The compounds of the chiefs were fenced and only the *matapules* and the chosen few could have access to the councils of the great lords, therefore the conjectures of the rank and file outside the fence were likely to be far from the truth. The word *tua*, translated above "outside" is also used of the common people and "*tua mamao*" may mean "common people far down the social scale" rather than "far outside." In either case the meaning is the same; the unreliable reports circulated in the conversation of those who have no means of knowing the truth.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

344 In Government House there were traces of a weather-board bungalow, but the shingles had long ago rotted away, and been replaced from time to time with odd scraps of galvanised iron, rust-eaten through and through. The verandah posts had fallen, bringing down the roof with them, and the gaps in the flooring were mended with 342 bits of an old canoe. But dilapidated as the house of his Majesty's representative was, it was a mansion in comparison to that of the Minister of Finance in Nukualofa, which seemed only to hold together to clear the character of its owner from any suspicion that an empty treasury might reasonably attach to him.

645 It now transpired that Tukuaho had in his suite a 203 couple of spies devoted to his interests, whose business [208] was to loaf into the houses of their acquaintances and gauge public opinion. One of them, Peter Vi, would have surpassed even the "Sham Squire" if they had been contemporaries. His fat empty face and rotund person disarmed suspicion; and he had besides an odour of the cloth about him, for his father and grandfather were both 793 reverend pillars of the Free Church. The latter, indeed, was the oldest native minister, and a contemporary of the [291] king. He paid us a visit in a hand-cart soon after we arrived, with a black coat over his *vala*, and a tall hat, carefully brushed the wrong way, upon his reverend head. The poor old gentleman had lost the use of his lower limbs and of part of his intellect; but he said a prayer over us, and went his way, leaving a vapour of respectability behind him which doubtless served to rehabilitate such disreputable politicians as we were believed to be: for although his son, as a Free Church minister, is dis-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

affected to the present Cabinet by profession, old Peter is long past polemics, for all creeds seem much alike when one is ninety, and expecting every day to have one's doubts explained away. Young Peter was only a third clerk in the Treasury at £10 a-year, and bad at arithmetic, and he wanted to be Sub-Inspector of Police at

"He paid us a visit in a hand-cart."

£25; so, having his way to make in the world, he was a loyal spy. The other was Tukuaho's cousin. He was an ex-convict, and looked his part of spy so well that I suspect that the conversation at once turned upon the weather in any house that he entered; but this did not prevent him from bringing blood-curdling reports of the hostility of the people, drawn probably from hearsay aided by a facile imagination.

Having despatched our spies on secret service, we had

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

were still in a good humour, we were to urge upon him the necessity of returning to Tongatabu to hold a great meeting of the people, and order them to pay their taxes. We sat on far into the night, discussing our plan of campaign between the bowls of kava, until the Head Jailer and the Sub-Inspector of Police, both malcontents, came in, ostensibly to do us honour, but in reality to hear us talk and spread the news. But when they had all gone Peter's moon-face clouded, and he whispered his dire tidings into Tukuaho's willing ear. The town was suspicious and uncomfortable. "Tukuaho sits all day with the white man writing. Let them write on. The country will not be lost to us by writings. There will be war before that happens."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

only the women had been impressed, but now the men's set faces relaxed, and there was a chorus of "*Malo!*") But that was not all. There were some perhaps who loved the man who was gone. Well—he was not there to speak ill of the absent, but he would say this, that the accounts were now being audited, and that some very strange things were coming to light. Did they think that any Tongan could thread the dark passages of such cunning? No. The king knew that when he asked for a white man to be sent to audit the accounts, and to make the dark ways plain. He was present, sitting at his side. (I tried to look unconscious.) In six short months he would leave them: it would be useless for them to ask him to stay longer—he could not. But he (Tukuaho) was there to-night to speak of his soul, and not of politics. What had politics to do with a church in which before God all men were equal? It was true that his soul was pained, but he had at least the comfort of knowing that he was doing his duty.

Before the applause had subsided Fatafehi was on his feet.

"I hear that you are all angry with me. Very well: that's your affair. But what is it about?" He laughed—not his hereditary laugh, but a less pleasant sound. "I will tell you why you are angry," he went on, and lashed the mischief-makers with great vehemence, not even deigning to end his speech with a devotional peroration.

"There will be less foolish talk to-morrow," said Tukuaho as we came away. "It was a good *bolotu*, only I am sorry that Fatafehi's words were so hot."

As soon as we reached home the spies were set in

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose of tonic. 203 208

Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of omission rather than of commission. But not always. Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when 796 781 783

[291] [516] [302]

"When Mary 'told her soul.'"

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Sawana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to "tell her soul." A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

796 781 783 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come, and one after another the men of the place slunk out to spread the dire news among their comrades in distress. Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary "told her soul."

645 574 578 [431] [276] We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his kava as an English lady her card-case under similar circumstances. They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies [203] from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born [152] friendship was worth. There was, moreover, a nervous hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awkwardness of their sudden change of front.

634 624 [625] At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Government officials in the wooden court-house. There were the judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, believed to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be loyal; and greater than all — the head jailer, Kaho, a [554] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

VII.

MEETINGS ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY.

THE politics of Tonga are a never-ending struggle between the *faikava* and the *fono*. In the intervals of the solemn ceremony of kava-drinking the most outrageous scandal is talked, the most startling lies invented,—for kava loosens the tongue-strings without muddling the senses. Were it less cheering and more inebriating it would be politically innocuous, for it is easier to govern a nation of drunkards than a people suffering from the diseased garrulity born of the pepper-root. Kava is drunk in every village in Tonga at least once a-day. Beside the door-post in every house lie the flat and the round pounding-stones whitened with the dusty fibres; and at each gathering, failing the moral character of an absent friend, politics, or church matters—which are so interlaced with politics that they are the more dangerous of the two—are the subject of conversation. To purify the air of the cloud of lies and miscomprehension that the *faikavas* have discharged into it, periodical *fonos* are necessary.

A *fono* is a compulsory meeting of the people to listen to the orders of some person in authority. Before Chris-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

tianity changed the face of the land the *fono* took the place of written law. The *matabules*, hereditary censors of public morals, summoned a *fono* to lecture the young chiefs whenever they had made a wider breach of the proprieties than their rank permitted. Nowadays its uses are various. In every village at six o'clock on Monday mornings there are *fonos*, at which the mayor reads out Government orders, and urges diligence on the defaulting taxpayers. There are Premier's *fonos* and king's *fonos*, the latter being very solemn functions, only adopted in cases of great national importance; but in all *fonos* alike no discussion is allowed, and the people are only summoned to hear what those set in authority choose to tell them.

The chief's orders of old were published abroad by the crier (*fanongonongo*), and this custom is revived whenever Government orders have to be proclaimed without the formality of a public meeting; but this time-honoured method is not often resorted to on account of the inaccuracy to which the human memory is subject. When Mr Baker promulgated his Wild Birds Protection Act, he instructed the criers to cry the preamble and a *résumé* of the Act—That whereas certain birds, particularly specified, were of public utility as the destroyers of worms, fleas, and other noxious insects, they were not to be killed on pain of heavy penalties. But the crier's version was: "Hear me, all people. It is the command of the Government—worms, fleas, and all creeping things are useful, so also are birds, therefore it is ordained that they shall not die; whosoever shall kill any bug, or flea, or worm, or bird, or other such thing, shall be grievously punished." It is right to say that the Tongans received the order

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

without surprise, for the protection of insects seemed to them quite as reasonable as the protection of birds, or indeed as any other of Mr Baker's statutes. 621 203 825

On our return to Tongatabu we found the air surcharged with the gossip of the *faikava*. Two noblemen and the Government bandmaster, all disaffected for different reasons, had filled the islands with a story that ran as follows: "The Government was lying when it said that it was in want of money, for had not the Premier, when he opened the Treasury, found a bag containing a hundred thousand sovereigns, and hidden them for the use of the Cabinet Ministers? Was he not deceiving the people when he told them to pay their taxes, or their country would be ruined?" "Mr Baker has gone to America, and has told the President what Britain has done, and he will come back in an American man-of-war to try the High Commissioner, and punish his enemies." "A British official is in Tonga to pay Tukuaho for betraying the country, and to arrange for annexation." It was plain that a *fono* must be held to cleanse the political atmosphere. 521 578 208

My colleague did not dare to summon the entire island to a *fono* without the express sanction of the king, so he determined to assemble the mayors from every village, knowing that they would carry an embroidered version of his speech to their constituents. Shortly after sunrise on the appointed day horsemen poured into the town, and tethered their horses outside the disused church at Pangai whither we were called to address them. As we entered the building at the pulpit end a policeman cried "*Koe Palemia*," and the mayors rose and saluted 621 203 623 645

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

621 with hands lifted above their heads. They were of every
203 age—from the dressed-up monkey fresh from college, in
623 black coat, trousers, and bare feet, proud in the possession
645 of all human knowledge, to the grey-headed elder in the
[291] quiet dignity of the *vala* of native cloth. Tukuaho made a capital speech, denying emphatically the false reports that had been set about, and appealing to the patriotism of his hearers to get their taxes in and save their country from ruin. They must, he said, hold *fonos*, at which only those who were in arrears with their taxes should attend, and as each man completed his payments he should be relieved from further attendance. Then he called upon me for my maiden speech in Tongan, and I delivered myself of a string of platitudes about the independence of Tonga, and the desire of England to see her stand alone: that England did not want Tonga, having quite enough to do with the slice of the world she had already, to which Tonga was but a fly-blow on the map: that I had come at the king's request, not to meddle in their concerns, but to help them, and when they wanted help no longer I should go away. Then the spokesman fidgeted and asked leave to proffer a request. They were tired, he said, of talking to those who would not listen to them: would the Premier himself come and hold their *fono?* After some discussion it was settled that we should hold a *fono* in each of the three great divisions of the island.

578 News now came from Vavau that Mr Watkin and
797 Mr Baker's son and former private secretary had between them contrived to stir up a hornet's nest. The boy, with the secrecy of a conspirator, had been distributing leaflets and photographs of his celebrated father, and the minister

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

825 frequented some *Toa*-trees near to the sea, but the great battle fought there in May 1799 frightened them away, and they chose to emigrate to the large trees in the centre of the town. Ata told me that at sunset half go away to feed, while the others keep guard during their absence, but that they never fail to come back about midnight to take their turn of sentry-duty. Without vouching for this as a scientific fact, I can bear witness that they fly beyond Nukualofa, thirteen miles away, for hundreds of them were shot at nightfall as they flew in a continuous string towards the Government banana plantations near the lagoon. One thus brought down had a little one clinging to her body, befurred and bewinged, a perfect miniature of its mother. In a few days it became perfectly tame, and at night showed no inclination to leave the verandah where it hung in the daytime.

621 The *fono* was held opposite Ata's house. Only tax-
645 payers were summoned, but they numbered several hun-
208 dreds, and included a few women—widows—holding tax-
203 allotments. They formed a compact semicircle, each bringing a cocoa-nut-leaf to sit upon. On the outside of the ring a few policemen, armed with thick batons, stood [195] erect in attitudes of stern attention. We, the authorities, sat in a row in the verandah and addressed the crowd in turn,—Tukuaho in mood of suave conditional, I in bald indicative, and Ata, their chief, in uncompromising im- [651] perative. Taxes,—we must have taxes, or—many terrible [651] things would happen. Tonga would lose her independence for one thing, and the police would come and sell by auction the property of defaulters for another. I am bound to confess that the latter threat appeared to be the more

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

dire of the two. Having lunched at the sacred enclosure of Kanokubolu, the scene of the massacre in 1800 in which the recreant missionary Vason took part, we rode off along the shore, leaving Tungi to water the seed we had sown.

The meeting at Mua was a far more picturesque affair. Five or six hundred people were assembled in a wide circle, six deep, under the shade of the historical banyan-trees beneath which Captain Cook sat when he witnessed the Great Inaji on the 17th June 1777.[1] Acting on my colleague's advice, I gave some sensational instances of the squandering of money by our predecessor, and this part of my speech was listened to with breathless attention. As I told of the sums spent on cab-hire in Auckland, on boots and shoes, and on strong liquors, even Mr Baker's supporters looked discomfited. It was curious to note the alteration in Tukuaho's style when addressing his own people at Mua. Elsewhere his style was persuasive: here he took no trouble to give reasons or explanations. He simply asserted facts, and his people accepted them. He is a fine speaker, less polished in delivery than his shrewd old father, Tungi, but more manly and open. The audience was enthusiastic—even old Nuku cried "*Malo!*" as if he had forgotten that he was in disgrace. He had advised his people not to pay their taxes, an offence that would have landed him in jail if he had been less aristocratic; but being a member of the Upper House, he could be threatened only with impeachment for conduct unbecoming a *Nobele*. I watched him carefully at this meeting, and decided that he was mad, but not sufficiently so to be harmless, for he is an inveterate talker. When Tongan

[1] See illustration on p. 317.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
0U9 Tonga 0U9

565 troubles were at their worst in 1886 Nuku held a *fono*,
646 and thus addressed his people:—

565 "All the great nations of the earth have made treaties
646 with Tonga. We have a treaty with Germany, a treaty of
829 mutual love and respect. We have a treaty with France: this is for the mutual protection of religion. We have a treaty with America: this is to secure freedom of trade, so that a Tongan may go and sell things in America, just as an American may come and sell things in Tonga. And we have a treaty with Britain, but *that* is a very different thing: Tonga and Britain are like two cocks, each standing on his own dunghill, trying to raise his head above the other and crow him down!"

645 The *fono* at Nukualofa was held at sunrise, and I was
621 awakened by an excited policeman who came to say that
208 chiefs and people were assembled and waiting for me.
203 Launched hungry, sleepy, and uncomfortable upon an audience tired of waiting, I did not make a brilliant speech.

By holding these *fonos* we had now done all that lay in our power to hasten the payment of taxes pending the
651 arrival of the King from Vavau. We were in great straits
652 for want of money, for we had undertaken to pay the salaries regularly from the day on which we assumed office, and hitherto not a penny of poll-tax had been taken
[439] at the windows. The Government was being carried on with the Customs dues alone, which, regular though they were, did not suffice to meet the current demands upon
645 the Treasury, exclusive of salaries. But we could do no more, and it was high time to agree upon the line of policy to be pursued to promote unanimity among our-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

neighbour. "It is true," he answered, "but we can never reject her for such a reason. She would die of shame. The other girls would cast it in their teeth." So they were all taken and divided into watches under the leadership of matrons of experience,—four to the kitchen, and eight to each of the tables destined to accommodate the Lords and Commons. Those who had never waited at table before were ordered to take lessons in the houses of the missionaries; and Joe, the captain of the Kuneti, was appointed head steward and keeper of the spirit-room, because strong liquors were known to disagree with him.

At last the contingent from the distant Niuas arrived, and we became anxious that the opening of Parliament, already delayed three weeks beyond the appointed time, should take place without further delay. Rumour had been busy on the beach. The king, it was said, would not open Parliament until the High Commissioner had left: the Government were afraid to face the Vavau contingent in their present frame of mind. The former rumour determined us to fix the opening ceremony a day or two before H.M.S. Cordelia left. The king made no difficulties; and the last week of preparation was spent in meetings of the Cabinet and Privy Council, in final rehearsal, and in providing with open-handed liberality for the creature comforts of the Opposition.

There was but one hitch in the arrangements. We had prepared the King's Speech with some care. The only allusion to the political events of the recess was a short sentence, "You all know that I have lately dismissed my Premier, and have appointed a Tongan in his stead." The

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Uvea,[1] from Futuna,[2] and even from Haamoa[3] and the far islands to the North.[4] No man knows whence he derived his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of the king were carried from one end of the land to the other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the message one to the other. It was the time of "*Funogonogo Tokoto*" (making proclamation when reclining).[5] And seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness; and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern when their bellies are empty.

Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua into the bay, and they would land on the islands to arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

[1] Wallis Island. [2] Hoorn Island.
[3] Samoa. [4] Gilbert Islands.
[5] At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Funogonogo Tokoto* referred to this than that the population was ever much greater than at present.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

563 subject under age, for her father was an English carpenter legally married to a Tongan wife. I could only counsel the love-sick guardsman to win consent from the father, or in the alternative to contain his soul in patience till she was twenty-one. It seemed to be cold comfort, for the father had terminated their last interview by chasing him with a carpenter's adze, and I suspect that by this time the friendly forest has again swallowed up the pair, and the carpenter is abroad with his chopper.

521 The eaves-dropping nuisance at the palace was 203 little less tiresome than it had been ten years 648 before, when one had to bawl state secrets into the deaf ears of old King George. One morning, while I was explaining the treaty to the king's ministers, I chanced to see in a mirror the reflection of a girl on her hands and knees, with eyes and ears wide open at a chink of the door, which she had pushed ajar. Our eyes met in the glass, and she scurried away like a frightened rabbit, but I was not surprised to hear afterwards that many of my remarks were being quoted verbatim in the town. Accordingly when the king asked me one morning to come into his private chapel to hear an important communication, I understood his reasons. As we

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

crossed the compound he remarked in a loud voice for the benefit of the sentry, "Yes, all that remains of the sacred tree has been inlaid in the state chair like your coronation stone in England. Come and see." Sitting on the two thrones on the daïs we were at last secure from eaves-droppers, and could talk freely. He told me that there were two Tongan words that expressed the feeling of his country towards England—*falala* and *faha'a*. Rising and leaning against one of the pillars of the aisle, he said, "This is *faha'a*: then I spring away from it so, and cry, 'Oh! but it won't bear my weight!' and you say, 'Don't be afraid; *falala be ki ai*' ('Lean upon it without fear')" As his mighty bulk thrust against the wooden post, it cracked ominously. It was fortunate that the king is not superstitious, for the post represented England in his metaphor.

The European merchants had a well-founded grievance in their complaints against the premier, my old colleague Sateki. It was not that he was obstinate, or that he was ignorant, though I was assured that the most stubborn Carolina mule might resent being mentioned in the same breath with the Prime Minister; it was that he was no longer incorruptible. There were slanderous

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

tain kept the people in awe, and for a time no signs of the coming change could be seen. 797 634

At length two men, called Faone and Lube, yielded to their convictions, and avowed themselves Christians. They knew full well the risk that was incurred, but, in dependence upon Divine aid, they made the venture; and were prepared for encountering cheerfully all hazards. With no Missionary near them, nor any Christian teacher, to give them advice or shelter; these men stand out from the thousands of heathens around them, and in the face of an angry monarch, proclaim themselves followers of Jesus Christ. What a triumph, and how glorious were its results!

They were immediately summoned to the presence of the chief, and with many threats were commanded to desist from prayer. They knew not but that the club of their autocrat master would lay them in the dust; but they, nevertheless, boldly refused to recant from the religious profession they had made. Happily the wrath of the heathen was partially restrained. The persons of these two men were not touched, but they were forcibly driven away, from lands, and wives, and friends. Meantime the islands of Haabai had received the Gospel, and thither, therefore, Faone and Lube went for safety. 797 798 There also the heathen greatly persecuted them; but they remained steadfast through it all. They were proof against open persecution, but would they equally resist bribery, and bland persuasions, to deny their Heavenly Lord and Master? Let us see.

The arrival at Haabai of a canoe from Vavau is heralded by the rapid roll of the wooden drums. Part of its business is to bring a message from the offended Ulukalala to Faone and Lube. They are 797 634 [202] [534] [203]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 summoned to the presence of the chief whose duty
634 it is to deliver it in the king's name. They are
203 told that it is the king's desire they should immediately return to Vavau, in which case he would restore to them lands, and wives, and friends. It was a tempting bait; but what was the instant answer? "Tell the king," said they, "that if he will permit us to pray, we will go; but if not, we will not go. We prefer a life of poverty where we can pray to God, to wives, or houses, or lands,
797 without God." With much less light and know-
781 ledge than the three Hebrew children, who, at all risks, refused to obey the blasphemous mandate of King Nebuchadnezzar, these two humble Christian converts were equally firm in their adherence to the faith of Christ. They were fully prepared even to die if needful; but God did not permit them to be tried to that extremity.

797 With Lube we had no personal acquaintance, but
157 we found in Faone a man of no common stamp of mind. He was an able, and very original and powerful preacher; and for some years he did good service as an evangelist in Fiji, to which country he went, in answer to the call of the church, a few years after his conversion. From thence he was removed again to his own native land, and we trust he still lives to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. He was lacking in prudence in regard to some of his proceedings, in the management of the Mission committed to his care, while in Fiji; and, after his return to Vavau, he also incurred the displeasure of King George in reference to some political affairs; but we believe him to have been a thoroughly good man, and to have been possessed of no ordinary gift in prayer. At all events, his name deserves to be

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

language would, in the first instance, move eastward, along the chain of islands, lying between the 10° and 15° of south latitude, over 50° of longitude, and, eventually, to distant localities more difficult of access."*

Considering the geographical position of Tongatabu and its contiguous dependencies; the undoubted natural superiority of the inhabitants over those of surrounding groups; the prestige which the Tonguese name carries with it wherever it is known in the Pacific; and, finally, the fact that their traditions speak of a time when the population on the main island was so dense, that a sort of telegraphic mouth-to-mouth communication carried tidings between the most distant points in an incredibly short time, we might almost be inclined to sustain Mr. Crawfurd's opinion that in these islands the primitive germ of the Polynesian race was located. Nothing, however, can be advanced with certainty. That the population of these islands was at one time much greater than it is now, we have no doubt; but we think that there are no evidences to show that it was so great as the tradition intimates. Some also of the Tonguese songs and traditions indicate that Samoa has been the source from whence several of the chieftain families have sprung, and from whence also the names of several of the most important localities in Tonga have been derived. This, however, should not be allowed to prove too much. I am, indeed, inclined to think that Samoa is much more likely to have been peopled from Tonga, and that its subsequent

* Preliminary Dissertation to "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language," by John Crawfurd, F.R.S., London, 1852, p. 253.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tues. 6 On the 6th we were Visited by a great Chief of Tongatabu, whose
634 name was *Feenough*, and whom Tapah was pleased to interduce to us
648 as King of all the friendly isles.[1] I was told that on my arrival a
[203] Canoe was despatched to that island with the news, which brought
this Chief here. The Officer on shore told me, that when he first
[576] appeared all the natives were ordered out to meet him and paid their
obeisance by bowing their heads to his feet, so that there was no
room to suspect him being any thing less than the King.

[431] In the after noon I went to pay this great man a visit, having first
received a present of two fish from him sent me by one of his servants.
As soon as I landed he came up to me and when the first salutation
was over, I asked if he was the King, for seeing he was not the man
I had seen before[2] I rather suspected it. Tapah answer'd for him, and
enumerated one hundred and fi[f]ty three islands of which he said
[431] Feenough was the King.[3] He and five or six of his attendants accom-
paned me on board where I made them all presents and entertained
them in such a manner as I thought would be most agreeable, and in
the evening attended them a shore in my boat, in to which the cheif
ordered three hogs as a return for the presents I had made him. I
was now informed of a circumstance which happened a shore which
will convey some idea of the authority the chiefs have over the com-
565 mon people. While Feenough was on board an inferior Chief, or
689 one of some authority, ordered all the natives from the post ashore,
but for what reason we did not know; some ventured to return on
which he took up a large Stick and beat them most unmercifully, one
man he struck over the side of the face so that the blood gushed out
of both mouth and nostrils and he lay for some time motionless and
was at last carried off in convulsions; on his being told he had killed
the man he only laughed at it and evidently was not sorry for what
he had done. We heard afterwards that the man recovered.

[1] Kepa was perhaps 'building up his own personality' in thus introducing the chief. It was Finau Ulukalala Feletoa, great-grandson of a former Tu'i Kanokupolu, Matacle-ha'amea, who had given his grandfather land on Vava'u. Finau was a formidable chief, but not king.—'. . . Finow, a tall handsome man, appeared to be about 25 years of age; had much fire and vivacity with a degree of wildness in his countenance that well tallied with our idea of an Indian Warrior. add to this, he was one of the most active men I have ever seen.'—Burney journal.—'. . . he is a man of above 35 Years of Age, above the middle size & Slenderer than the Commonality; he has the manners of a man who knows his Consequence, but a Contraction in the Muscles of the Neck & lips gave him the Appearance of affectation; we admir'd his great Activity & lively spirits & he was very useful in hetting back what was stolen, & procuring us provisions, altho he sometimes says that he has little here, he can Command. . . .'—King.

[644] [2] i.e. the man of 'Sullen gravity' whom on the second voyage he had concluded to be king, the male *Tamaha* called Latunipulu.—II, pp. 256–8.

[3] The number 153 arouses one's curiosity, and one's admiration for Cook, if he counted them. It is a rather generous estimate of Finau's sovereignty, and must surely bring in all the sandbanks and reefs of all Tonga, as well as the islands and islets.

[171 cont.]

they continued to trade with us. They sold us coco-nuts, excellent yams, bread fruit, bananas, shaddocks, and other fruit. They also brought purple water-hens alive, and a fine well-tasted sparus ready dressed in leaves; also a curious stringy root baked, which contained a very nourishing pulp, of such a sweetness, as if it had been boiled in sugar. All these things were eagerly bought for nails, which were esteemed according to their size, and for pieces of our cloth. Their canoes, their persons, dress, customs and language so entirely resembled those of Tonga-Tabboo, that we could perceive no difference. As this island is at a short distance from Namoka, it is not improbable that the inhabitants of the latter might have heard of our arrival there in October, 1773.

The next morning [June 27] captain Cook landed early in a sandy cove, which is accurately described by Tasman. It is enclosed by a reef, and has a narrow entrance for boats at the south end. It is so shallow, that our boats could only come in at high water. The captain purchased a pig, and was conducted to a pond of fresh water at a short distance from the beach, the same where Tasman had supplied his ships with water. The hospitality of the natives was exercised [172] in its utmost extent, and one of the handsomest ladies of the island complimented the captain with an offer, which was not accepted. Having examined the watering place, he returned on board to breakfast, and gave strict orders, that no persons infected with or lately cured of venereal complaints should be suffered to go on shore, and that no women should be admitted in the ship. A number of ladies came off in several canoes, and seemed very desirous of making acquaintance with our sailors; but after paddling about the ship for some time, they were

175 361 311 Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences (Wood, 1945:81-19). After Tasman's visit, a period of 130 years elapsed before further European contact was made by Cook on his second voyage in 1773. Cook also recorded that Tongatapu was extensively cultivated with "the houses being surrounded by perfumed flowers and set in the middle of food-gardens, the planting being systematic and in rows . . . . . Good roads, arched over with trees, went in all directions. There were no villages." 175 361 173 203 (Wood, 1945:18-19). The existence of dispersed and peaceful settlements is attested to by Tongan tradition which "speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end of Tongatapu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a state of affairs described as fanogonongo tokoto (making a proclamation while reclining)" (Gifford, 1929:4-5).

174 642 643 During this period of dispersed settlement, a strong line of high chiefs established their authority over Tongatapu, as well as the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups. This period of strong central authority began with the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, around 950 A.D. (based on geneological evidence). 175 721 181 [643] The line of high chiefs, starting with 'Aho'eitu and including three major lines of royalty (the Tui'i Tonga, Tu' Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines), provided for a peaceful environment until the very end of the eighteenth century (Wood, 1945:5-18). According to Tasman, in 1643, "we saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace

/97 cont./

476 527 574 (556) guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 527 574 178 182 521 (526) Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha, they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at the same time give large circles of the village community the much desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha (203) invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations), so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/ one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the festival.

527 574 794 Other festivities (272)

272. Aside from the various "picnics" /cited in English/ on the beach or in the bush, organized by young men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus, every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a (262) meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig, (272) yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

/114 cont./

000 of minister of finance. A certain obstacle to growth is also the as
647 yet unbroken power of the nobles; in government positions, rank is
565 apparently still preferable to knowledge and ability.

829 For the majority of Tongans living on the 36 islands, the family and the village community are the most important centers of life. People know that there is a government in Nuku'alofa, and even that there is a parliament which meets there with /115/ represetatives of the people. But they scarcely have close connections with this government, or even a lively interest in it. For most natives the
[643] government is much too remote--both physically and mentally. Only
[644] the Queen, the Crown Prince and the remaining members of the royal house are well known to all the highly honored. As in olden times
178 in their relationship with the chiefs, the mass of the people are
829 today willing to follow the instructions and commands of their
203 government representatives. The fono, for example, the town meeting,
621 (319)

319. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 181.

still exists; here the decisions and regulations of the government are announced and accepted by the people--as in old times--without discussion or vote. Thus, for example, the Crown Prince and Premier
[644] Tungi held a large fono on March 1952 in Pangai on Lifuka, where he
[645] announced to the men of all the villages of this island that from now on an airline was to touch down on the Archipelago and that they would have to build an airport here in May/June. The district officers
622 and town officers carry on their work in the villages with quiet
634 reserve; in general, they do only that which has been ordered "from
631 above," and do not interfere in village life on their own initiative.
203 They announce in a fono the instructions they have received from the
621 government; the men of the village accept the directives without
203 contradiction and carry them out more or less as instructed. Such
621

/115 cont./

203 621 orders refer not only to the necessary public works for the village community, but even to the personal activities of husband and wife. 641 For example, it is incumbent on the men to plant certain minimum 203 amounts of various crops on their land, and the women are given 621 instructions to make certain quantities of mats and tapa within a given period. These directives signify the continuation of the ancient [178] supervision and work guidance of the chiefs. However, the situation has changed in that the products are meant only for the use of the family producing them. The people in general willingly carry out 178 these directives. As in ancient Tonga, the majority of the people 829 accept the present situation of the government as an unalterable, self-evident fact. There are but few who criticise conditions. Such [565] critics among commoners usually have enjoyed special schooling and [578] have become dissatisfied as a result of some hindrance to their professional development.

829 As an example we cite the case of the Tongan S. who was educated 642 in New Zealand. He says: "Here in Tonga we do not have a democracy, 565 but a dictatorship. The chiefs have almost all the power and the [666] greatest influence. Approximately /116/ 50,000 Tongans elect seven [646] representative to parliament, whereas the 33 nopele of the aristo-cratic group likewise elect seven representatives. Added to these [645] are the cabinet members, most of whom are also nopele, so that the small aristocratic group has more representatives than the mass of the 829 people.--If a young noble goes to school in New Zealand, the nobles 565 raise money and support him. Later, when he returns home, he has all 464 the advantages and gets a good job, since government positions are given out by nobles. A commoner is a complete outsider. You could argue that the commoners should also raise money for him. But what would be the use? He doesn't get the good jobs anyway. (320)